New South

- **Religion's Role in Desegregation**
  Will D. Campbell
- **Keep Schools Open**
- **Let Educators Decide**
- **Highlights from Recent Literature**

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Contents

The Role of Religion in Segregation Crisis by Will D. Campbell 3

Keep Schools Open 11

Let Educators Decide 12

Highlights from Recent Literature 14

. . . Unquote 15

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New South Notes

One of the most discussed roles in the desegregation controversy is that the church is playing. Will D. Campbell, Associate Executive Director, Division of Christian Life and Work, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ, discusses the role or religious organizations in the desegregation crisis. Reverend Campbell compares the actions taken by religious organizations to those taken by individuals who may have been inspired by the parent organizations. While recognizing the limitations of Protestant organizations in solving the current problem, the Rev. Mr. Campbell takes an optimistic view of the church's long range influence through its pastors and other leaders.

The Georgia Council of Churches, an affiliate of the National Council of Churches, has played an ever increasing role in trying to solve the problems surrounding the segregation questions. Its leaders constantly have sought ways to help bring about a sensible solution to our school problems. This issue of NEW SOUTH contains the latest of the Council's efforts.

The Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, convening in Atlanta, issued a statement again calling on the South for a renewed effort in solving the school problems. Their suggestion is a simple, workable plan; that is, "get the issue of school desegregation out of the courts and into the hands of responsible educators." This statement is included in this issue.

The Role of Religion In Segregation Crisis

By
Will D. Campbell*

from
Journal
of
Intergroup Relations

Robert Hutchins is reported to have said of the University of Chicago, "It isn't a very good school. It's just the best there is." While it is difficult for one with a portfolio in race relations for a Protestant organization to distinguish between apologetics and analysis, this report will attempt to say two things. First, that religious organizations are not doing very much. Second, it will strive to suggest that considering the nature and limitations of the institutional church and the fragmentation of the loyalty of its constituency there are certain things to its credit.

The assignment is to discuss the role of Protestant religious organizations in the desegregation controversy. Because "Protestant" is so broad a term anything that is said can be refuted with numerous exceptions. One might almost ask, "the role of which Protestant?" There are sixty million of them.

It should also be said that if one could answer this question satisfactorily, he would have made a contribution to the life of the various Protestant groups which four hundred years of history have been unable to provide. For Protestantism has never been able to define its role in society on any serious and critical issue.

If we are honest we must say that it has never found a strategy as a basis of operation effectively to influence the culture in which it lives. It has not been able to contribute importantly to the solution of any pressing social problem except indirectly.

The reasons for this are clear and

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Division of Christian Life and Work,
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there is little point in going into detail in such a paper. It is enough briefly to point out what has been suggested by various students of the relationship of Protestant churches to their culture.

Protestantism has divorced religious faith from institutionalized authority and thus does not possess leaders who are authorized to speak for the mind or will of the group. There is no clearly designated line of authority and seldom is any person invested with sufficient power to act or represent his constituency with anything like the immediacy necessary for him to be a factor in a crisis situation. Furthermore, individual conscience has been defied and no one can prevent a given individual from interpreting doctrine or Scripture as he sees fit and to conform to values, prejudices and attitudes acquired outside the church. This is why the various positions, resolutions and statements made by the Protestant churches of the South and the nation have not been taken seriously by legislatures and other policy makers.

Independence

As long as Protestant polity not only allows but encourages independent action of its members and frowns upon concerted action of the group this will be true. For in so doing they never comprise a clear threat to any center of power or group of officials who retain their power by election.

This is reflected in the various ministerial statements and resolutions which have been signed in recent months. There is always the preface that they are speaking as individuals and not representing anyone else. This is not a criticism of the individual minister who signs such a statement, for he has no choice. But while he cannot speak for his constituency, other organizations with opposing ideologies have developed in a short time a clear channel of authority who can speak convincingly and authoritatively to elected officials. Most often these organizations speak for the same people for whom ministers or other church leaders are unable to speak.

And while church people have refused, or at least failed, to be organized into anything except a fellowship of individuals so far as the church is concerned because of what they see as the nature of the reformation churches, they have permitted themselves to be organized into a body with great power but little freedom. The point is that while Protestantism can and does plant seeds of revolution, it cannot see it through. So its prophets and actionists often turn to other vehicles.

But while it is true that Protestant churches are not providing a leadership in the present racial crisis commensurate with their ideals and principles, it is equally true that they have produced many of those who *are* providing such leadership. We can be critical that Protestant polity cannot provide the kind of organization necessary to influence social change, but we cannot ignore the fact that its doctrines and teachings, when taken seriously, have provided leaders for organizations which can. For example, we can criticize the South Georgia Baptist Church which

excluded Clarence Jordan of Koinonia Farm from its membership. But in so doing we are apt to forget that it was that same church which produced him in the first place. Like an eagle teaching its young to fly but deserting them once they begin to exercise what they have been taught, so Protestantism is capable of inspiring its own to action but usually objects when action occurs, especially if it is taken in its name.

From a church in Georgia dismissing its pastor because of a prayer for racial understanding to a Presbyterian Secretary of State responding to a proposal that this country take steps toward the recognition of the Peoples Republic of China with the suggestion that church people would be more instrumental to the common good if they confined themselves to moral principles—everywhere Protestants, concerned with social, economic and political problems, are told to mind their altar fires and tea parties.

Leaders

But still it must be said that while Protestant churches are not geared for action and for the most part those agencies interested in the desegregation of society should not look to this institution to provide the necessary pressure for social change, it will at the same time be found that some of the ablest leaders who *are* exerting the pressure were nurtured by this institution, even if they now deny the mother who gave them birth.

This might be listed as the role of providing a set of values out of which many of us operate; of helping to create a climate in which it will be more than ordinarily possible for the work to be done. Few persons who are active in the current struggle for racial justice have escaped an influence of the Judeo-Christian ethic in one way or another.

Negro Role

If some of the above is considered a shortcoming there is a notable exception to it all. Much of it does not apply to a large segment of Protestantism in the South, namely the Negro demoninations and Negro congregations within predominantly white denominations.

Considering Protestantism as a group, it is certainly unfair to assert that this group is making no contribution in the early stages of the desegregation process — keeping pressure on, bringing cases to court, organizing protest movements, and undergoing the necessary suffering and sacrifice to achieve the desired goal.

And while it has been the NAACP which has played the major organizational role and has taken the giant step legally, much of their leadership has come from within the churches, as was hinted above. But it must also be said that in situations such as the Montgomery boycott, it has been the institutional church itself which has made the greater contribution. The meetings not only were held in church houses, they were essentially religious meetings with religious motivations and values. The prayers, the refusal to return evil with evil, ministers going to jail, an entire community suffering legal harassment —these are things familiar to any religious people and in a real sense it might be said that this was the church playing a vital role in desegregation.

In fact, it might be said that the real

Religion

(Continued)

key to the solution of our current problem of desegregation rests in the hands of the enlightened, liberal Negro churchmen of the South as they work within their own channels and through such organizations as the NAACP and not in the hands of the whites at all—not even the whites of goodwill. It is often said that this is a Southern problem and must be solved by Southerners. But this is usually another way of saying, "Leave us alone," or a euphemism for, "Yankee, go home." And actually it is strange that there should ever have been the hope or expectation that white churchmen could be the real leaders, especially by anyone even remotely familiar with community structure and organization. In any revolution there must be at least two factors. There are those who are in revolt and those who are being revolted against. No one has ever condemned the Archbishop of Canterbury for not being Chaplain to George Washington's troops. George Washington had his own troops and the Archbishop was actually irrelevant.

Pressure

When this comes from a white Southerner it sounds defensive. Instead it is the recognition of what all of us know—that man, by nature, does not give up comfort and privilege voluntarily. So the role which the Negro churchmen are playing of keeping the pressure constantly upon the status quo is a vital one. For in every case desegregation has come, not when a group of whites of goodwill got together and said discrimination was wrong and should be stopped. Rather it has come when a group of Negroes got together and said "We have been discriminated against long enough, let's stop it."

White Role

This is far from suggesting that what is referred to as white Protestantism is irrelevant in the desegregation controversy. There is the important role of the white Protestant in personally interpreting these demands and of interacting with his Negro colleagues. A case in point is Mobile, where Negro ministers signed a petition to the city fathers requesting that the buses be desegregated without the upheaval of Montgomery. This was followed by a resolution, with obvious consultation, from the white ministers in which they shared the concern of the Negro group and attempted to interpret these demands from their own perspective.

There is likewise the role of relating to action groups. We have said above that many religiously motivated people cannot find a channel within the institutional church to express the social implications of their faith. Protestantism, with its generally permissive doctrine of the Church, does not hold that the Sunday morning gathering is paramount. It is free to encourage its congregation to find expression in groups which are geared to accomplish its ideals and to behave as they do because of their faith.

Moreover, there is an increasing segment of white Protestantism which is developing the ability and machinery for action in the community. In North Carolina a Methodist congregation lost a valuable building site rather than compromise their convictions on man's

brotherhood. In Georgia a Presbytery assumed the government of a local church, in action supporting the pastor's right to speak on and to be active in the desegregation crisis. In Arkansas an entire congregation endorsed a non-church committee formed to try to get the public schools reopened. However, we must say that such examples are as yet isolated. More often there are individual acts.

A related role is that of supporting those within the framework of the institutional church who have chosen to put their faith into action. Several of the denominations and organizations such as the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and the American Friends Service Committee have provided financial and other rehabilitation aids to numerous individuals who have been displaced or who have suffered in applying the imperatives of their faith to the racial crisis. Support has also been furnished by the many statements made by all of the major denominations condemning racial segregation. While these may not be impressive to lawmakers they certainly give leverage to the parish minister who otherwise would be hard put to explain his own position to members of his congregation.

Pulpit Freedom

There is also a development in the direction of attempting to restore some of the freedom of the pulpit lost during recent years. Several denominations have commissions and even staff persons with this as a major concern.

This leads to a role which has been neglected in some circles but which is gaining increasing attention. That is the one of interpreting the Church's own peculiar message, using its own language and its own frame of reference.

Since Protestant Christians are the dominant group in Southern culture, the moral responsibility for this crisis is on their shoulders. Thus, in a real sense, any speaking they do must be addressed to themselves and in their own tongue. However, it is interesting to note the number of cases of concerted action by ministers and church people where the approach has been purely humanistic. But they are finding it more and more difficult to defend their interest in desegregation in humanistic terms. (This is not to quarrel with the humanists. Their record in this crisis is a good one. It is rather to suggest that the churches have a distinct and peculiar approach which has sometimes been neglected.)

One may observe that some of the most daring and creative work in desegregation has been done by ministers and churches with no history of social liberalism. A minister in Virginia with little interest in social action within the framework of his denomination and no experience in human relations movements has refused to discuss the crisis from his pulpit or with members of his congregation in anything but theological terms. His church has refused to become a tool of the state administration. On the other hand, some of the churches in his town with a long history of social concern and liberalism have become parties to massive resistance.

The reason for this is clear. When the minister makes his plea on the basis of constitution, man's rights, human dignity, democracy, or even the universal principle of the Fatherhood of

God and the brotherhood of man, he is placing himself in a vulnerable position. For the majority of white Protestants in the South want segregation to be preserved and are impressive in their reminder that there is no gospel, no "good news" for them in desegregation. The good news must certainly be elsewhere. And they have been taught from childhood in most Protestant churches of the Bible Belt that theirs is a message of personal redemption, and only as anything is related to this does it make sense to them. In terms of sheer strategy this is worthy of some attention.

So the role of the church in providing a positive theological base as it attempts to speak to itself and as a motivation for action is deserving of the emphasis which seems to be increasing.

A related task which many Protestants are accepting as an obligation is the correction of the flagrant misuse of Scripture on the part of many of its members. At least one book has been written on the subject and other approaches are being made through Sunday School materials and other literature.

Defends "Faith"

We cannot assume that people are not being convinced by the faulty use of the few passages of Scripture which seem to them to give support to their prejudices. The segregationist Protestant is neither simply rationalizing nor is he deliberately lying when he reasons that since God was the original segregationist in turning some of Noah's children black and since in the Golden Rule Jesus said not to do to others what you wouldn't want them to do to you and as he doesn't want others to force him to integrate it becomes his Christian duty to see that no one else is forced to integrate. To say that this is illogical and false is not enough. He is not capable of grasping the meaning of myth and he does not even seem able to read the text correctly. Nevertheless, he is convinced that when he defends segregation he defends the faith and that the integrationist is a part of an evil scheme to destroy his religion.

Interpretation

For one to insist that this is not being done among the masses and that it is not effective in this twentieth century is to ignore the facts. To remember the educational level of those who constitute the real problem and to view the constant flow of literature using such arguments placed in every mail box along the RFD-mail boxes the rest of us are failing to touch—is to be convinced. To deny that it is so is also to ignore that in a system where the individual has been given almost complete freedom of interpretation, where everyone has direct access to God with little test of validity of any divine communication, his noblest ideal is apt to be in part self-corrupting. The doctrine of Christian love is a case in point as suggested in the use of the Golden Rule.

Some comment is called for concerning other values which Protestantism has emphasized and which are relevant to the subject. Among these are a strong commitment to the public school system, education in general, and responsibility

for their youth. These are concerns which have added to the strength of Protestantism. But again it has been seen that they are sometimes a weakness so far as desegregation is concerned.

For instance, schools opened in Little Rock by churches probably did more to win the school referendum for Mr. Faubus and contributed more to the defeat of Mr. Hays than most other factors. These schools were opened for valid reasons and in keeping with the values mentioned above. Furthermore, in most cases they were opened by ministers and churches who held an excellent record of opposition to the policies of the Faubus administration. The schools were opened in the name of learning, wisdom, education, and Christian responsibility for their youth. Yet this was a major factor in taking the pressure off the Faubus administration. For while children were provided with schools and were not on the street or under foot parents were inclined to be satisfied. Mr. Faubus remained the saviour.

Church Schools

Moreover, it seems obvious now that if schools are closed on any mass basis in the South most white Protestant churches will either open schools of their own or make their facilities available for private schools. Again they will do so for good reasons. They will do so to preserve education, not to preserve segregation. Nevertheless, the latter is accomplished in the process. A few months ago when it was announced that this would be done in Prince Edward County, Virginia, few were seriously concerned. No one could picture library, laboratory, study halls, classrooms, gymnasium and cafeteria all in one large room. But when the pressure mounted in Charlottesville it was large and respectable downtown churches which followed suit. Because all Protestant churches are essentially congregational—even those claiming an episcopacy such as the Methodist Church—this will be true as long as the present climate continues. While many ministers will make an excellent effort, as they have in recent months, they will be overruled by their congregations.

Congregational Rule

It might be argued that there is no reason why the churches could not open their own schools but on an integrated basis. But this is to ignore three factors, namely, congregational rule, why they were closed in the first place and by whose wishes, and certain prime Protestant virtues such as peace, harmony, and order within the fellowship. Anything upsetting this is generally considered bad. Any hope that this will be done except perhaps occasionally is wishful thinking. Therefore, we can only conclude that as any state in the Deep South resorts to abolishing the public school system the churches, usually with pure motives, will continue to preserve segregation for a least a while.

Hopefully, however, recent developments tend to indicate that most states of the South will escape wholesale closing of schools and certainly the abolishing of state supported education entirely. Recent events in Atlanta, several communities in Virginia, and the school board election in Little Rock support this. It seems more likely that the pattern of the past will be continued with the accompanying court cases, com-

munity unrest, bitterness and violence. It is safe to assume that the degree of emotional intensity will increase as it begins to affect the hard core states.

And where this course is followed there is a role which Protestant churches have played in the past and which will become increasingly significant. That is the role of what we might call "cleaning up the mess." Generally speaking, white Protestant churches cannot be expected to play any important role in the process of getting Negro children to the door of formerly all-white schools. They will not engage in what they consider the rough and tumble of politics to see the various court cases through. This is in keeping with major values such as peace, harmony, goodwill, and order within the fellowship. It is enough to say that as a social institution Protestant churches are by nature conservative. And based on past performance, there is little likelihood that white Protestant churches will play any significant role in preparing communities for desegregation. This is not to minimize the great work which has been done in some situations but again to suggest that Protestantism is not geared for action and does not exert the influence in the community needed for such preparation.

Conservative

The performance of cleaning up the mess, if it comes, will be done because of that of which we are usually most critical, namely, the conservative nature of the institution. For example, the churches in Clinton played virtually no part in pressing for justice to admit Negro children and once they were admitted by court order did little to prepare the community for an orderly transition. This was true to their conservative nature. A conservative institution seldom threatens another conservative institution. But when the whole structure of society was falling apart, when principles held even more sacred than segregation were threatened, that same conservative nature compelled the churches to become involved. For the churches to press for justice in court or community would be to jeopardize success of revivals, membership drives, the building fund, next year's budget and the whole life of the institution. But mob rule, riots, general hysteria, and bad publicity were an even greater threat.

Defend One

Aside from the threat to itself, while a conservative institution will seldom threaten another conservative institution it will almost always defend one. Thus, it was *not* that the Baptist Church in Clinton had moved to a more liberal position when it supported its minister who walked to school with the Negro children and was attacked by the mob. Instead, this was a clear demonstration and re-emphasis of its continued conservative nature. If their pastor had been beaten while circulating a petition to admit Negroes to the public schools he probably would have been dismissed from his pulpit. This would have been a betrayal of the peace-loving nature of the institution. But when he was beaten in what amounted to the defense of a still more vital aspect of the status quo, peace and community stability (not

peace and stability in the usual sense but peace and stability slightly to the left of absolute chaos) he became something of a church hero.

This might account for many Protestants being willing to assume the humanist position while not being willing to champion the more daring theological demands of their faith.

Thus, white Protestant churches can be counted upon to play a vital role when the walls of civilization are caving in around them. And by now it must be accepted by all that this is going to be one phase of the process as it is experienced in most communities. There are many prophets within Protestantism who would like to see the institution plug the dike with its right arm. Most members are not willing to do this but are willing to rescue the drowning victims. And this much is not to be dismissed lightly.

Most Protestants will agree that the judgment (and justice) of God precedes any degree of reconciliation. They can be consistent with their faith and see the egression of the judgment and justice of God from channels other than themselves—the NAACP, the Court, etc., and accept as their role the mending of a broken and shattered society, the putting the pieces back together in some kind of order, the reconciliation of caste and class, the cleaning up of the mess. If for no other reason, to regain as much of the status quo as possible.

As significant as the prophetic edge of the Church is and as much as most of us regret the current dearth of prophets in white Protestant circles, it might well be that "their finest hour" will come, not in producing more and better prophets but in exercising the conserving edge which is often seen as its weakness.

Thus Protestantism.

Keep Schools Open

WHEREAS, the Georgia Council of Churches is holding its annual meeting in Macon on the day that the school authorities of Atlanta presented a plan for the gradual and orderly desegregation of the schools to the North Georgia District Federal Court of the Fifth Judicial Circuit, Court of Appeals; and

WHEREAS, we, as responsible churchmen and concerned citizens, feel that anything that would deny the children of this State the privilege of a public education would be disastrous; and

WHEREAS, the final decision affecting the Atlanta schools will in turn affect every public school and school child in Georgia;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that we call upon the Governor and members of the State Legislature to provide legislation in the coming session that will guarantee to all the children of Georgia an uninterrupted public school education.

Let Educators Decide

Statement by Southern Regional Council Board of Directors

What is right for the South to do has become what is practically urgent for the South to do. During the five years since the Supreme Court's decision in the *School Segregation Cases*, vast transformations have occurred throughout the world. One has only to recall the advent of space explorations; the fearsome developments in military weapons; the incredible industrialization of China; the growing economic and technological power of the Soviet Union; the emergence of African and Asian nationalism; or the formidable increase of the earth's population.

During these same years, the South has straddled the realities of the twentieth century. Its zeal for economic progress has kept pace with the times. But much of its political leadership, in vain adherence to the unconstitutional practice of segregation, has seceded from reality.

Not for long can this contradiction be kept from blighting the South's economic chance, its moral vigor, and the remnants of its once great capacity to supply statesmen for the country. Nor can the damage be kept from invading the self-interest of every Southerner—the business man whose operations are endangered by the decay of law and order, the worker and consumer whose fortunes depend on the health of the economy, the youth whose education is threatened by interruption. Unless thoughtless resistance to both law and reality can be outgrown, the region will be a liability to the nation and the cause of human freedom which the South has believed itself to love.

Fortunately, there is a growing understanding that school closings, violence, demagoguery, and the products of defiance come with a price tag. The South has moved far in recent years toward reclaiming its economic equality with the rest of the nation; only the ignorant or the self-serving would willingly risk destroying that progress. To avoid that danger, however, realism alone compels us to discard our outworn myths and prejudices and face up to the imperatives of change.

AN URGENT OBJECTIVE is to get the issue of school desegregation out of the courts and into the hands of responsible educators.

Southern communities need to redefine their school problem. Instead of "How can we keep Negroes out?" or "How few can we admit?", they need to consider, "How best can we educate all our youth?" By revising the question, one moves from an emotional to a professional problem, to be solved primarily by educators; and that is as it should be.

For example, we strongly oppose the use of so-called pupil placement as a political device to evade or thwart desegregation. When placement is not guided by professional concern and criteria, but is designed to perpetuate

racial separation, its use will only prolong the South's unrest.

In the present climate there can be value in plans, such as that of Louisville, which permit both Negro and white students relatively easy transfer out of assigned schools. But plans which put on the Negro child and parent the total social and psychological burden of achieving desegregation are unjust and patently intended to escape the law. It is indefensible that children should have to run the gauntlet of hostile officials in order to enjoy their rights under law.

THE AMERICAN LEGAL SYSTEM assumes that when the law has been declared in a case, all persons in similar situations will comply, even though not parties to the case. Neither American constitutionalism nor the common law contemplates an endless web of litigation for the spreading of every legal concept. Nor is this the path to rewarding human relations.

Irresponsible political leadership has decreed this ordeal of litigation, and in some states this leadership is so far unwilling or unable to undo the obstruction it has caused. But positive local leadership has been available in certain areas of the South. In six Southern states, more than 200 school districts have initiated desegregation without conflict and without the compulsion of a specific court order. Hesitant and limited though many of these changes have been, they are at least beginnings toward voluntary compliance with the law. They give witness to the fact that where responsible leaders take the initiative, desegregation can be handled by Southerners without turmoil or court decrees.

Those communities which have desegregated, whether voluntarily or through court order, are now free, as they never before have been, to solve the problems of race relations. They can do so by adopting the only approach that has ever had realistic promise—that is, by treating their Negro citizens as individuals, not as impersonal "problems." Instead of submitting themselves grudgingly to court direction, they can control their destinies by moving on their own initiative to end segregation in good faith.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL was conceived sixteen years ago out of the conviction that Southerners themselves must ultimately work out democratic solutions to the South's problems. We cannot—any more than the rest of the world's people—control the global pressures which bear in upon us and dictate the inevitability of change. But we can and must be accountable for the way in which we respond to these historic forces of our time.

We remain convinced that the South, out of its long experience and abundant kindliness, will someday set an example for every part of the world where persons of different color live together. The way to begin is with white and Negro citizens planning together school systems that will respect the personality and rights of each student, and to do this as one phase of a general movement to end segregation in all public life.

Thus will we hasten the time when Southerners are distinguished from each other by individuality, not by race, and are bound to each other by a consciousness, not of color, but of common humanity.

Highlights from Recent Literature

New South summarizes recently published periodical, pamphlet, and book length material of interest to its readers. These synopses liberally paraphrase and condense the statements of the authors, although direct quotations are used whenever economy permits.

Reddick, L. D. "CRUSADER WITHOUT VIOLENCE." Harper & Brothers, New York, 1959. 243 pp., $3.95.

A biography of Martin Luther King, Jr., which, as the fly leaf states, "peers intimately into Negro life in the South, noting new forces that are reshaping race relations there and throughout the nation. It sets the cataclysmic (Montgomery) bus protest in the frame of current history . . . Beyond the insights into personality and the corroborating detail, the political social significance of a changing mood is made clear."

And from Mr. Reddick's first chapter: ". . . the image of the hero or monster or saint scarcely reveals the man. Or satisfies the human heart that asks how the man came to be as he is—and may become. Quite naturally, people want to know what kind of person Martin Luther King really is and how it happens that one so young could achieve, apparently, such poise and moderation in the face of danger and fame. Above all, they search his life as they search their own, seeking after that which is real and rejecting that which is false."

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McCauley, Patrick, and Ball, Edward, editors. "SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS." Southern Education Reporting Service. Benson Printing Company, Nashville, Tennessee. 1959. 174 pp. $4.75; paper bound.

A journalistic report dealing with education in the South during the period just before and since the United States Supreme Court desegregation decision, this volume is divided into two sections. The first, in narrative, includes chapters on Population, Enrollment and Attendance, School Revenue, Expenditures, Personnel, School Transportation, Buildings and Equipment, and Special Services. A second section is statistical, "for the scholar who finds eloquence in a statistic," and provides data continuous with that collected and analyzed for the Ashmore Project ("The Negro and The School," and several other volumes). The statistics cover the period 1952-1957. Chapters were contributed by journalists and educators who are well versed in their field.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

". . . this much is clear. Any community that would hereafter submit to the closing of its public high schools should know that many Little Rock families continue to pay for it today, and that some of the young people involved will never stop paying."

From an Editorial
in the *Arkansas Gazette*

• • •

"Mayor Hartsfield has urged Atlanta businessmen to speak out for continued operation of the public schools. They would be acting with vision and wisdom as well as in their self-interest if they do so."

From an Editorial
in the *Macon News*

• • •

"The wilful destruction of public education in Georgia is unthinkable. Fortunately there is time for the state to free itself of this burden by passing this responsibility on to the communities which will be involved and allowing each to solve it in its own fashion."

From an Editorial
in the *Atlanta Journal*

"Resolved that the Atlanta Council go on record in wholehearted support of our Board of Education in their stand to keep public schools open in Atlanta."

The Atlanta Council,
Parent-Teacher Associations
Quoted in *Atlanta Constitution*

• • •

"Although our first thought in this matter must be of the children who would be affected and of their parents, we would deplore with equal earnestness the inevitable harm and the disrepute which would come to the State of Georgia through the closing of the public schools."

Most Rev. Francis E. Hyland,
Bishop of the Catholic Diocese
of Atlanta
Quoted in *Atlanta Constitution*

• • •

"As a citizen, and not as a superintendent of schools, I have become convinced that there is no substitute for public schools."

Dr. Robert O. Nelson,
Newport News School Superintendent
Quoted by Associated Press